

Ohio - 14th District

14 John F. Seiberling (D)

Of Akron — Elected 1970

Born: Sept. 8, 1918, Akron, Ohio.
Education: Harvard U., B.A. 1941; Columbia U., LL.B. 1949.
Military Career: Army, 1942-46.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Elizabeth Behr; three children.
Religion: Presbyterian.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 1225 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-5231.



In Washington: Seiberling is not the most popular member of Congress — he is too liberal for many and too serious for others — but he has made himself an effective legislator by seizing an issue, mastering its details and mobilizing a constituency behind it.

The issue is public lands, one that affects few districts outside the West and engages few members. Seiberling and his environmentalist allies, who are intensely interested, have been remarkably successful at convincing colleagues that they can help themselves politically at home by voting for a new wilderness area somewhere far away.

The symbol of this strategy is the Alaska lands bill, which as enacted in 1980 set aside some 104.3 million acres of that state for wilderness parks and protected areas. It doubled the nation's park and wildlife refuge systems and tripled its wilderness areas.

As chairman of the Interior Committee's Public Lands Subcommittee, Seiberling managed that legislation through a tortuous three-year struggle. Many of the ultimate decisions were made by Interior Chairman Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., but Seiberling was the detail man, and maintained a militant environmentalist position that sometimes allowed Udall to sound a slightly more conciliatory note.

The House passed a strict Alaska bill in 1978, setting aside far more Alaska land as wilderness and closing more land to development than the Senate wanted. The two chambers never did reach agreement, however, and the issue returned at the start of the next Congress in 1979.

At that point the Carter administration had intervened on its own to set aside millions of acres of Alaska as wilderness, and Seiberling insisted throughout the second round of the battle that there would be no compromise. But when the Senate again passed a somewhat more

development-oriented bill — and the prospect of a Reagan administration frightened the entire environmental movement — Seiberling was willing to accept the Senate bill and call it a day. Even the more militant among his outside coalition went along with him.

While the Alaska issue was being played out, Seiberling won passage of a smaller bill setting aside 2.2 million acres of land in Idaho as the River of No Return Wilderness. It was the same story — mountain state members opposed the move, but they had no constituency elsewhere in the country.

Like most environmentalist Democrats on Interior, Seiberling spent most of the 97th Congress arguing with James G. Watt, President Reagan's militantly pro-development secretary of the interior. As chairman of a key subcommittee, Seiberling could frustrate Watt simply by sitting on administration proposals. Early in 1981, when Watt called for a moratorium on purchases of land for national parks, Seiberling told him "Don't hold your breath."

The next year, Watt baffled the committee by proposing an end to mineral exploration in wilderness areas until the year 2000 — but with few restrictions on development after that. Seiberling was not interested. "I have learned to look for 'fishhooks' in Mr. Watt's glittering proposals," he said. "This would be the most sweeping and devastating anti-wilderness bill I have ever seen." Later Seiberling helped persuade the committee to approve a permanent ban on mineral leasing in wilderness areas.

At the Public Lands Subcommittee, Seiberling has to work with Alaska Republican Don Young, his main antagonist in the long Alaska lands dispute. Young is the subcommittee's senior GOP member.

It is not a happy partnership. Young considers Seiberling the essence of elite eastern

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Ohio 14**Northeast — Akron**

The 14th District is in a part of Ohio built out of rubber — tires in particular. Located within the district's confines are the corporate headquarters of the Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone and General Tire companies. Their workers are bread-and-butter Democrats, and the 14th is one of the most Democratic districts in the state.

But the economy of the district is changing. While the major rubber companies are still the prime employers, the last quarter century has seen a steady transfer of business from the old, high-wage factories in Akron to new plants in low-wage areas of the Sun Belt. Many Akron residents have left. The city's population in 1980 (237,177) was less than it was a half-century earlier.

The local economy has been kept alive by the attraction of major trucking firms and the diversification of the rubber companies into radar and aircraft parts. The unemployment rate in the Akron area in 1982

was below those in all the other industrial centers of northern Ohio except Cleveland.

In the boom years of the rubber industry before World War II, Akron was a mecca for job-seeking Appalachians. The annual West Virginia Day was one of the city's most popular events, and it was said that more West Virginians lived in Akron than Charleston. These days, the Appalachian descendants combine with blacks, ethnics and the academic community at the University of Akron to keep the city reliably Democratic. Jimmy Carter won it in 1980 with 57 percent. North of Akron, suburbs and farmland in northern Summit County provide Republican votes, but too few to affect the overall count.

Population: 514,662. White 453,880 (88%), Black 56,260 (11%). Spanish origin 2,698 (1%). 18 and over 373,723 (73%), 65 and over 57,932 (11%). Median age: 31.

environmentalism, and seems to enjoy pointing that out frequently. But they have worked together on the rare occasions when they have agreed about something — in 1981, amid discussion of basing the MX missile system on public lands, the two men commissioned a staff study that said the entire idea was faulty.

Seiberling has been less conspicuous on the Judiciary Committee, but has established a consistent record as a civil libertarian willing to defend unpopular causes. He was incensed at the FBI's Abscam operation, which he considered entrapment worthy of a police state. Later in 1980, when the Judiciary Committee considered a new federal criminal code, he tried to amend it to redefine entrapment and focus on the conduct of the law officer.

The same Seiberling liberalism comes out on the civil rights and antitrust issues considered at Judiciary. He fought a provision in a 1980 housing bill that would have allowed appraisers to consider race and sex in making appraisals.

At Home: Seiberling's liberalism sets him apart from his ancestors, the "rubber barons" of Akron. Long before his political debut in 1970, he had abandoned the Republican heritage of his grandfather, F. A. Seiberling — founder of both the Goodyear and Seiberling

Tire and Rubber companies — and his cousin, Francis Seiberling, who represented the Akron district from 1929 to 1933.

An antitrust lawyer at Goodyear, Seiberling first decided to run for office at age 51, challenging a 20-year House veteran, Republican William H. Ayres. Before that he worked for various liberal candidates and had been involved in efforts to block highway and power line projects planned for the scenic Cuyahoga River Valley.

Running on an anti-war, pro-labor and environmentalist platform, Seiberling stood apart in the five-candidate race for the 1970 Democratic nomination, a contest that state Sen. William B. Nye expected to win. Seiberling was helped by two unrelated events. Rubber workers went on strike at Goodyear early in the year, and Seiberling solidified his labor credentials by supporting them and refusing to cross the picket line. Later, as the campaign's most outspoken critic of President Nixon's Vietnam policy, he was helped by resentment against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the killing of four students at an anti-war protest at Kent State University. The shootings, which occurred the day before the primary, took place less than 15 miles from the district. Seiberling won with 38 percent to Nye's 29 percent.

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In the general election against Ayres, Seiberling continued his attack on Nixon's war policy, which Ayres supported, and on the incumbent's environmental record. Ayres had been placed on the "Dirty Dozen" list of members environmentalists wanted to defeat.

Ayres stressed his seniority and tried to identify Seiberling with student militants. Veterans for Law and Order, a group supporting Ayres, ran full-page newspaper ads showing Seiberling arm-in-arm with two long-haired students, giving a two-fingered peace salute. The photograph was taken at a University of Akron rally the day of the Kent State shootings.

Seiberling filed a complaint with the Fair Campaign Practices Committee and ran an

advertisement using the same picture, explaining that he was "the man who kept the peace at the University of Akron."

The episode gave Seiberling more publicity than any of Ayres' previous opponents had been able to generate. And for the first time in 20 years, the Democrat won the endorsement of the *Akron Beacon-Journal*. Those factors, combined with a strong Democratic turnout for statewide offices, gave Seiberling 56 percent of the vote.

Even though he has never tried to hide his liberalism, saying "we need every liberal we can find," Seiberling has had little to worry about since then. In 1980, his percentage dropped below 70 percent for the first time since his initial victory, but it rebounded two years later.

Committees

Interior and Insular Affairs (3rd of 25 Democrats)
Public Lands and National Parks (chairman); Energy and the Environment; Mining, Forest Management and Bonneville Power Administration.

Judiciary (6th of 20 Democrats)
Criminal Justice; Monopolies and Commercial Law.

Elections**1982 General**

John F. Seiberling (D)	115,629	(71%)
Louis Mangels (R)	48,421	(29%)

1980 General

John F. Seiberling (D)	103,336	(65%)
Louis Mangels (R)	55,962	(35%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1978 (72%) 1976 (74%)
1974 (75%) 1972 (74%) 1970 (56%)

District Vote For President

1980		1976	
D	100,618 (48%)	D	121,588 (60%)
R	89,911 (43%)	R	78,475 (39%)
I	14,624 (7%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1982				
Seiberling (D)	\$87,043	\$35,822 (41%)		\$82,182
Mangels (R)	\$36,136	\$2,550 (7%)		\$33,128
1980				
Seiberling (D)	\$31,814	\$12,105 (38%)		\$29,143
Mangels (R)	\$43,900	\$4,500 (10%)		\$40,803

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1982	23	75	91	5	12	84
1981	30	70	94	5	5	93
1980	79	19	90	7	6	94
1979	83	15	94	4	3	97
1978	82	14	88	9	4	95
1977	78	14	90	6	3	94
1976	25	71	91	7	7	92
1975	37	61	89	8	9	86
1974 (Ford)	44	56				
1974	36	60	94	5	5	95
1973	25	73	92	8	5	94
1972	43	46	84	7	1	94
1971	25	68	86	7	4	94

S = Support

O = Opposition

Key Votes

Reagan budget proposal (1981)	N
Legal services reauthorization (1981)	Y
Disapprove sale of AWACs planes to Saudi Arabia (1981)	Y
Index income taxes (1981)	N
Subsidize home mortgage rates (1982)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1982)	N
Delete MX funding (1982)	Y
Retain existing cap on congressional salaries (1982)	N
Adopt nuclear freeze (1983)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1982	90	13	100	14
1981	100	4	87	11
1980	100	13	79	70
1979	95	0	95	0
1978	95	4	84	28
1977	95	0	87	13
1976	95	4	86	13
1975	95	11	91	6
1974	96	0	91	0
1973	100	7	100	18
1972	100	5	100	0
1971	89	8	82	-